

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 TOKYO 00283 01 OF 02 091026Z

15

ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 SAJ-01 NIC-01 CU-04 IO-14 EB-11

OMB-01 TRSE-00 SCEM-02 COME-00 STR-08 CIAE-00 DODE-00

NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

INT-08 NEA-10 FAA-00 COA-02 DRC-01 /165 W

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O R 090935Z JAN 74

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9158

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

USLO PEKING

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 0283

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CH, JA

SUBJ: OHIRA'S TRIP TO PEKING: PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT

REF: A. TOKYO 16663

B. TOKYO 0284

SUMMARY: FOLLOWING IS PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT OF FONMIN OHIRA'S VISIT TO PEKING. SIGNING OF TRADE AGREEMENT, RECIPROCAL INCREASE IN RESIDENT JOURNALISTS AND AGREEMENT TO HOLD FREQUENT MINISTERIAL TALKS REPRESENT SOLID ACHIEVEMENTS. FRANK DISCUSSION OF AIR AGREEMENT BETWEEN OHIRA AND FONMIN CHI AND PREMIER CHOU PROVIDES IMPETUS FOR MOVEMENT ON THAT THORNY ISSUE ALTHOUGH REACHING CONSENSUS WITHIN LDP IS STILL MAJOR TASK. END SUMMARY.

1. FONMIN OHIRA VISITED PRC JAN 2-6 AT INVITATION OF CHINESE

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PAGE 02 TOKYO 00283 01 OF 02 091026Z

FONMIN CHI PENG-FEI FOR TALKS ON NUMBER OF BILATERAL AND IN-

TERNATIONAL ISSUES. TRADE AND ENERGY MATTERS AND FUTURE MINISTERIAL EXCHANGES FIGURED IMPORTANTLY IN BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS. DESPITE HAVING DECLARED PUBLICLY ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS THAT HE WOULD NOT GO TO PEKING BEFORE AVIATION AGREEMENT WAS ACHIEVED, OHIRA WENT ANYWAY AND SEEMS TO HAVE REGAINED MOMENTUM ON THAT ISSUE. OHIRA DISCUSSED WITH FONMIN CHI AND PREMIER CHOU INTERNATIONAL ISSUES INCLUDING MID EAST, KOREA, INDOCHINA, JAPAN'S DEVELOPING RELATIONS WITH EUROPE, AND TANAKA'S TRIP TO MOSCOW. CHINESE APPARENTLY WELCOMED JAPAN'S MOVING TOWARD CLOSER RELATIONS WITH EUROPE AND MID-EASTERN COUNTRIES. DIFFERENCES OF VIEWS ON INDOCHINA AND KOREA WERE REPORTED.

2. SOLID ACHIEVEMENTS DURING VISIT INCLUDE SIGNING OF JAPAN-CHINA TRADE AGREEMENT AND MEMORANDUM INCREASING EXCHANGE OF RESIDENT JOURNALISTS FROM FIVE TO ELEVEN IN EACH COUNTRY AND AGREEMENT TO MOVE AHEAD ON SHIPPING AND FISHERIES AGREEMENTS. JAPANESE REGARD AS SIGNIFICANT THE DISCUSSION WITH CHINESE ON FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF CHINA'S OIL RESOURCES AND POSSIBLE AVAILABILITY OF RESOURCES FOR JAPAN. POSITIVE, FRIENDLY ATMOSPHERE, INCLUDING OHIRA'S CALL ON MAO, AGREEMENT TO CONDUCT FREQUENT MINISTERIAL TALKS, AND AGREEMENT TO WORK TOWARDS TREATY OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP CAN ALSO BE COUNTED AS GENUINE ACHIEVEMENTS, ADVANCING RELATIONS BETWEEN JAPAN AND CHINA.

3. IT APPEARS TO US THAT OHIRA'S CANDID DISCUSSIONS WITH CHI AND CHOU NOT ONLY IMPROVED ATMOSPHERE SURROUNDING LONG DEADLOCKED AVIATION TALKS, BUT ALSO SUCCEEDED IN REALIZING BOTH ROUGH OUTLINE OF AGREEMENT AND GENERAL SCHEDULE FOR REALIZING IT. WE LEARNED FROM VARIOUS CONTACTS THAT OHIRA BRIEFED PRIME MINISTER TANAKA JUST PRIOR TO LATTER'S DEPARTURE ON SEASIAN TRIP AND RECEIVED GO-AHEAD TO DEVELOP COORDINATED DRAFT AVIATION AGREEMENT WITH GOJ. OHIRA IS ALREADY WORKING WITH TRANSPORTATION MINISTER TOKUNAGA WITH AIM OF USING COORDINATED GOVT DRAFT TOGETHER WITH GOJ VIEWS ON JAPAN-TAIWAN AIRLINKS AS BASIS FOR DISCUSSIONS WITHIN LDP. (SEE REF B FOR DETAILS ON AVIATION AGREEMENT.)

4. PRESS, WHICH HAS ADOPTED POSITIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD OHIRA'S  
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PAGE 03 TOKYO 00283 01 OF 02 091026Z

PRC VISIT, HAS MENTIONED ROUGH SCHEDULE FOR PROGRESS ON VARIOUS AGREEMENTS AND BILATERAL RELATIONS WITHIN NEXT FEW MONTHS THAT IS PLAUSIBLE BUT NECESSARILY TENTATIVE. FONOFF APPARENTLY HOPES FINAL NEGOTIATIONS ON AVIATION CAN BE CONDUCTED WITH CHINESE BY MAY SO THAT FONMIN CHI COULD RECIPROCATE OHIRA'S VISIT IN JUNE TO SIGN AGREEMENT. SCENARIO ON OTHER AGREEMENTS FORESEES FINAL NEGOTIATIONS ON SHIPPING WITHIN NEXT MONTH OR TWO AND ON FISHERIES PERHAPS IN APRIL.

PRC VICE FONMIN HAN NIEN-LUNG MIGHT BE INVITED TO VISIT  
JAPAN TO SIGN THOSE ACCORDS.

5. ASSESSMENT: OHIRA'S TRIP GOT THINGS MOVING AGAIN IN  
JAPAN'S RELATIONS WITH CHINA. IN ADDITION TO POSITIVE  
ACHIEVEMENTS NOTED ABOVE, GOJ HAS BOUGHT SIX MONTHS IN WHICH  
TO TRY TO WRITE AVIATION AGREEMENT. GOJ'S ACTUAL PLANS FOR  
"LOCALIZING" TAIWAN-JAPAN AIR LINK ARE STILL UNCERTAIN, AND  
WE ARE NOT SURE WHETHER OHIRA'S EFFORTS WILL PRODUCE DOCUMENT  
MORE ACCEPTABLE TO LDP RIGHT-WINGERS. JAPAN-ROC DIETMEN'S  
CONSULTATIVE COUNCIL (GROUP WHICH VISITED TAIWAN IN SEPT  
1973 UNDER CHAIRMANSHIP OF HIROKICHI NADAO) AND SEIRANKAI  
(CHAIRMAN EIICHI NAKAO) HAVE ALREADY MET TO DISCUSS AVIATION  
PROBLEM. GOJ APPARENTLY HOPES NEW DRAFT WILL REPRESENT COM-  
PROMISE ACCEPTABLE EVEN TO PRO-TAIWAN LDP'ERS.

6. OHIRA SEEMS TO HAVE TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF OPENING IN CHINESE  
CALENDAR RESULTING FROM UK PM HEATH'S CANCELLATION OF TRIP  
TO CHINA TO SEIZE INITIATIVE IN DISCUSSING NUMBER OF IMPORTANT  
BILATERAL AND INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS. HE RISKED DOMESTIC  
CRITICISM IF HE ACHIEVED NOTHING ON AVIATION QUESTION. HAD  
HE NOT GONE NOW, SCHEDULING PROBLEMS WOULD HAV DELAYED TRIP  
PROBABLY FOR SEVERAL MONTHS, POLITICALLY, OHIRA NEEDED  
PERSONAL BOOST TO COUNTER ADVANTAGE FUKUDA GAINED IN COM-  
PETITION TO SUCCEED PRIMIN TANAKA WHEN HE TOOK OVER RECENTLY  
AS FINANCE MINISTER.

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PAGE 01 TOKYO 00283 02 OF 02 091031Z

15

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FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TOKYO 0283

7. PEKING MAY ALSO PERCEIVE STAKE IN OHIRA'S POLITICAL POSITION IN JAPAN. SHOULD TANAKA FALTER, FUKUDA WOULD BE STRONG CONTENDER FOR PRIME MINISTERSHIP. SINO-JAPANESE RAPPROCHMENT HAS BEEN LARGELY CRAFTED BY OHIRA AND MORE CONSERVATIVE GOJ UNDER FUKUDA MIGHT SLOW PACE OF IMPROVING SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS. POSITIVE RECEPTION FOR OHIRA IN PEKING, INCLUDING PARTICULARLY MEETING WITH MAO, TESTIFIES TO CHINA'S INTEREST IN OHIRA'S POLITICAL FORTUNES. CHINA-JINAN FRIENDSHIP ASSN. PRESIDENT LIAO CHENG-CHIH'S LAUDATORY REMARKS ABOUT OHIRA'S VISIT TO JSP MISSION NOW IN PEKING WOULD ALSO APPEAR TO BE PART OF PEKING'S EFFORT TO BUILD UP OHIRA, IN THIS CASE, EVEN WITH OPPOSITION PARTIES IN JAPAN. IN CONCLUSION, WE BELIEVE OHIRA'S GAMBLE IN GOING TO PEKING PAID OFF, REFURBISHING SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS AND ENHANCING HIS OWN POLITICAL FORTUNES.

8. EMBASSY HAS HAD GREAT DIFFICULTY IN SEEING KNOWLEDGEABLE  
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PAGE 02 TOKYO 00283 02 OF 02 091031Z

FONOFF OFFICIALS ON OHIRA'S VISIT. OHIRA IS STILL INDISPOSED AND OFFICIALS WHO ACCOMPANIED HIM ARE ENGAGED IN MARATHON EFFORT TO COORDINATE GOJ POSITION AND SELL IT WITHIN GOJ AND TO LDP. MEETING AT FONOFF HAS NOW BEEN ARRANGED FOR JAN 10, AFTER WHICH FURTHER ANALYSIS WILL FOLLOW.  
SHOESMITH

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## Message Attributes

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